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TRUMAN'S TRIAL BALLOONS

Will America be fooled again?

OF all the trial balloons sent up in this capital in the last quarter of a century, this was the most obvious.

So said the N. Y. Daily News last week about the officially "repudiated" speech of Navy Secy. Matthews calling for "aggression for peace." A lot of other commentators voiced the same suspicion.

Similarly, Gen. MacArthur's now-famous "banned" statement calling for war against China (which got just about 100% press circulation anyway) was echoed a week later by Vice-President Barkley himself. In his bumbling way Barkley even resorted to the moldy term of "expansionist" President McKinley, proclaiming our "manifest destiny" to rule over the lesser peoples of the earth.

IT is, therefore, of the greatest importance to those working for peace to remember the last great "trial balloon" of the Truman bipartisan Administration, and what happened to it.

It was Winston Churchill's speech at Fulton, Mo., in March of 1946, which called for a divided world—West vs. East—and placed permanently in our language the Nazi term "Iron Curtain."

Although public pressure forced President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee to disavow the Churchill speech, it all came out in the wash later that such prominent Administration personages as Secy. of State Byrnes, Bernard Baruch, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith (incoming ambassador to Moscow, now head of Central Intelligence) and Averell Harriman (then ambassador to Moscow) all had a hand in framing Churchill's speech. And, of course, Truman sat beside the old British saber-rattler beaming assent throughout the whole performance.

A little later, C. L. Sulzberger in the N. Y. **Times** stated the problem as seen by the Administration: namely, not to bow to public sentiment but to get the propaganda machine working to make U. S. public opinion conform to Churchill's.

HARDLY anybody needs to be reminded now how cruelly successful the Administration has been at changing the public mind from its "one world" hopes of 1945-46 to acceptance of the divided world which Churchill, Truman and the people behind them have brought about in the intervening years.

As if in anticipation of just such a well-planned campaign again, behind the 1950 "trial balloon" for war, here is what the **Wall Street Journal** had to say last week:

> **What Mr. Matthews suggests is nothing new; even in democracies wars have been provoked in order to get things settled. . . . Whether we like to think on it or not, there can come a time—if we are stupidly led—when the existing state of affairs becomes so intolerable that even war is welcomed by many people as a relief from tension. . . .**
>
> **It is a popular fallacy that a democracy cannot be aggressive. . . . But a free people can be pushed to aggressiveness. And they can also be led to it. . . . One does not have to look far in Washington to find stoical acceptance of the prophecy that the third world war is inevitable if, in fact, it has not already begun.**
>
> **Well, the people have already been told that however the Korean business ends the country is going on a war footing. We are told to expect years and years of little wars and half-wars, perhaps fighting here, perhaps there, but anyway never free to go our own way in peace. . . .**
>
> **We pray that the American people will be spared the moral insanity of ever believing that war is preferable to peace or that war is a way to peace.**

THE **Wall Street Journal** is not naive. It is perhaps the most knowing publication in the United States. It knows full well who lofted the Winston Churchill trial balloon for the cold war back in 1946, as well as who is loosing the 1950 model.

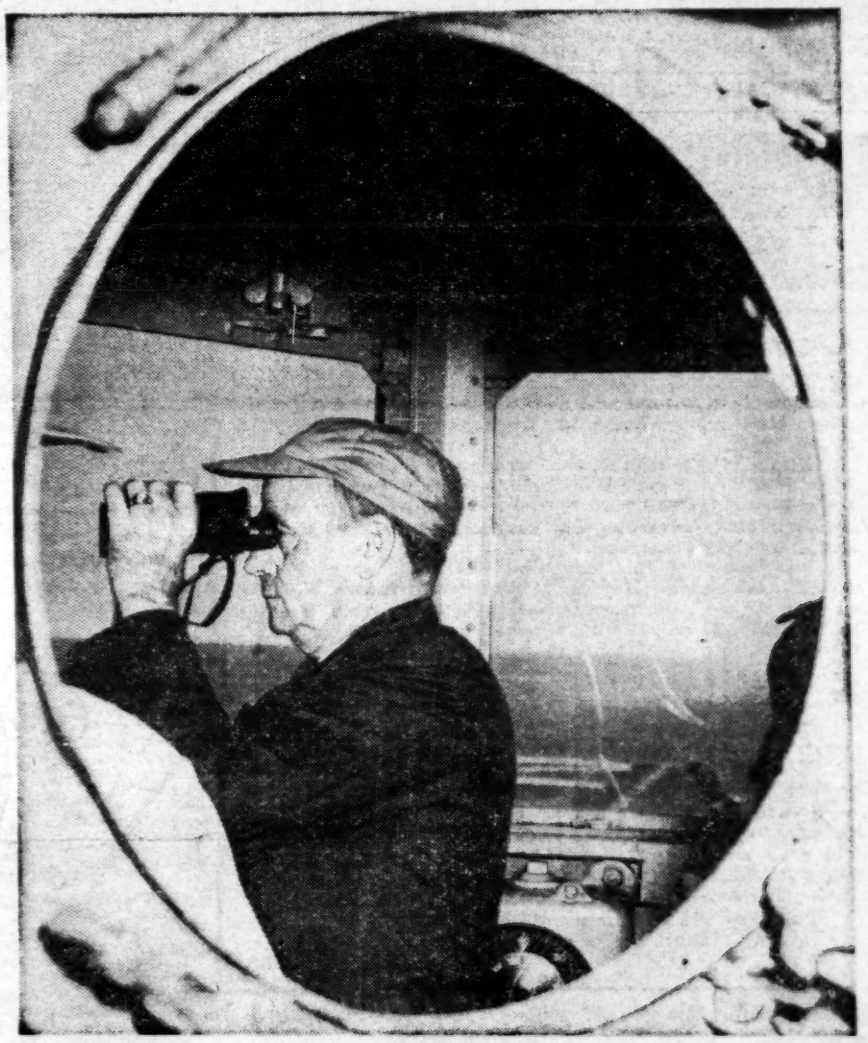
But in its way, the **Journal** reflects the views of the man in the Street—even if the street is Wall Street and the common man, in their world, is the man who watches the Dow-Jones stock market ticker all day instead of working.

Apparently even the common man in Wall Street is finding it hard today to stomach the consequences of big Wall Street's war program.

That's progress, in a way. Be grateful for it—and, if you like, pray as the **Journal** does against the belief taking root that war is a way to peace.

But keep your powder dry for the big fight against the upcoming Administration propaganda campaign to make the "repudiated" MacArthur-Matthews plan the will of the American people.

THE EDITORS



"THE REDS ARE COMING!"

The late Defense Secy. James Forrestal was so certain of it that he ran yelling down the streets of Hobe Sound, Fla., in his pajamas. Secy. of the Navy Francis P. Matthews (inspecting the horizon above) doesn't really see anything but a few seagulls—but just to make sure, he proposes an American war of aggression.

Call for U.S. aggression is an old story

In "repudiating" Navy Secy. Matthews' call for "preventive aggression" by the U. S., the Administration sought to make it appear that the rest of the government and top Army brass could not harbor such notions. The GUARDIAN, which never forgets, dipped into its files; here is a small selection of the quotations we came up with, showing that Matthews' call is merely the latest in a top-echelon propaganda crusade for aggression that began before the end of World War II.

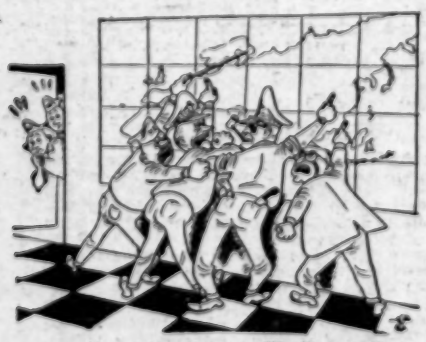
CHARLES E. WILSON, president of the General Electric Co., in the **Army Ordinance Magazine**, March-April, 1944:

> **I am not proposing a doctrine of aggression and brutality—simply a realistic point of view that the tendency to war is inevitable. But we do not sit and wait for the latter to strike us down.**

• • •

Late C.-in-C. of the Army Air Forces, Gen. H. H. Arnold, Dec. 9, 1945:

> **We must use the most modern weapons of all kinds so that we can beat any potential opponent to the draw. (Jan. 13, 1946): The only defense against the atomic bomb is, hit before it starts. I don't like the word "defense." We should shoot to insure the security of the Americas.**



Vie Nuove, Rome

"They are fighting to decide which country is going to be the next aggressor."

• • •

James Reston, N. Y. **Times** Washington correspondent, reported Sept. 1, 1945, that one conclusion reached in government discussions on unification of the armed services was that the new department

> **. . . must be geared legally, mentally and militarily to strike the first blow, without violating the Constitution if that can be done, or by changing the Constitution if that is necessary.**

• • •

In May, 1947, top brass held a one-week "Civilian Seminar" for the indoctrination of publishers, churchmen, writers, and businessmen at the Air University at Maxwell Field, Ala. Students included Dr. H. C. Burks Jr. (director of Standard Oil of N. J.), Earl Smith (Republic Steel Corp.), Roger S. Firestone (Firestone Rubber Co.), Arthur Hays Sulzberger (N. Y. **Times** publisher), and Msgr. Francis W. Walsh (representing Cardinal Spellman). The doctrine of the U. S. "striking the first blow" was a basic feature of the seminar. Wrote columnist Gill Robb Wilson (who was a pupil) in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, May 28, 1947:

> **Is democracy tough enough to strike the first blow if the equation is one of a free world or a slave world? Will the U. S. ever be willing to hit first? . . . Do we care nothing more for the virtues of civilization than to trade them for the pottage of conscience-comforting luxury involved in taking the second shot?**

• • •

Maj. Gen. William J. Donovan, wartime head of OSS, on Oct. 28, 1948, warned the Soviet Union that unless it behaved "we're going to have peace by compulsion."

• • •

James H. Doolittle, former Air Force lieutenant general, on May 1, 1949, appealed to U. S. citizens to "be prepared, physically, mentally and morally" to drop atom bombs on the Soviet Union.

• • •

C. D. Jackson, publisher of **Fortune** magazine and former deputy chief in the Army's psychological warfare branch, advised U. S. citizens in April, 1950, "to get over their complex about shooting." If the Soviet Union doesn't want to start up, he said, then the U. S. will have to "start the shooting."

• • •

John P. Bracken, president of the Reserve Officers Assn., May 6, 1950:

> **The U. S. must be alert and ready to strike an aggressor before it can deliver a knock-out blow to us on our home soil.**

• • •

The N. Y. **Times** on June 7, 1950, reported that Paul H. Griffith, Asst. Secy. of Defense,

> **. . . disclosed tonight that in 1947 he had urged Pres. Truman to order an atomic bomb dropped "some place over there" as a demonstration of U. S. support of the "people of the world who wanted to remain free."**

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THE MAILBAG

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IF YOU are a subscriber, this issue of the GUARDIAN came to you in a wrapper with your name and address on it plus a code number indicating the expiration month of your subscription.

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Thanking you in advance, we remain as always,
Yours for peace and progress,
THE EDITORS

Mother—who's the goose?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Hickory dickory dock
The war has upped some stock.
The Jingoes are now in the sun
And our savings will soon be none.
Hickory dickory dock.

Bax Max

In America—not Germany

ASTORIA, ORE.

I would like to pass on to you a short conversation heard on the street between two men:

First man: "What do you think of the war?"

Second man: "Do you want me to go to jail?"

(Unsigned)

Ask the experts

BOSTON, MASS.

Our domestic experts tell us the cold war would be unnecessary and we need not fear a hot war if only the U.S.S.R. would abandon its ideology of communism. Have they ever asked themselves why there never was peace betwen countris of the world before the U.S.S.R. existed? Norman L. Smith

Self-chosen emissaries

CHICAGO, ILL.

America owes something better to its young men than ordering them to a remote country to be killed by and to kill a people against whom they could not possibly have any hostility (except that engendered by the mutual slaughter itself).

It is tragically ironic, to say the least, that we Americans, who have been taught all our lives, directly or indirectly, that the colored races, yellow and black, are sub-humans, are the self-chosen emissaries to crusade for the freedom of the Asiatic peoples. Robert Scott

Noise in Malaya

WORCESTER, MASS.

I note where our ally Britain is yelling for American troops in Malaya, where an enormous army of 3,000 natives is "terrorizing" the great British army. Of course we can't allow that. Let's induce the UN to declare war on these "terrorists."

God save the King—and God help America. Belmont Sumner

Thanks

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Your last two editions strike me as being the best political and social efforts ever put out in these United States since Tom Paine's Common Sense and a very few classics of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Basil Maddy

Hope and Courage

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am not given to writing letters to newspapers. In fact this is probably the first one.

We read many publications of various opinions. When a friend sent us a copy of the GUARDIAN I said: "What, another paper? When will we read it!" But we read it. It's the one publication that gives us hope and courage to face the "stones and nightsticks" anathema in the press, on the radio and from the government itself. It confirms one's convictions that we have the right to our freedom, the right to speak our minds!

So I am sending $5 and five addresses of people I know will appreciate the paper as our whole family does. Clara Robbin

Swift stream

SEATTLE, WASH.

The University of Washington Progressive Party decided to send you the bulk of our treasury to insure continuance of one of the few papers that opposes western imperialism in Asia. That section of the world, out of the mainstream of the industrial revolution, is now on the path that many European nations once passed over. They will probably pass from an agrarian to a capitalist or semi-capitalist economy to a socialist solution much sooner than we may think possible. Herrick Kotchek

A mother speaks

BAYARD, N. M.

The courage, the care, the effort, that go into publication of your paper inspire the rest of us. As long as I can feel the reassurance that comes from taking the weekly NATIONAL GUARDIAN from my mail box, I feel there is hope.

The time for mere words is long past. I am a young mother of two children. My husband volunteered in the War Against Fascism, and was willing even to die in such a cause. I ask other young women who face the destruction of those they love to act with me. No matter how great the odds may seem, ask yourselves: What are the alternatives?

There are none. Peace is the only answer to hope for the future. I want my children to live; I want life for your children, too. Organize in whatever way you can in your own communities to speak for peace. War is not inevitable. It is not necessary. War is criminal. Do we not have the right to act in our own self-interest?

Virginia Jencks

Shaw on persecution

IN this play I have represented one of the Roman persecutions of the early Christians, not as the conflict of a false theology with a true, but as what all such persecutions essentially are: an attempt to suppress a propaganda that seemed to threaten the interests involved in the established law and order, organized and maintained in the name of religion and justice by politicians who are pure opportunist Have-and-Holders.

People who are shown by their inner light the possibility of a better world based on the demand of the spirit for a nobler and more abundant life, not for themselves at the expense of others, but for everybody, are naturally dreaded and therefore hated by the Have-and-Holders, who keep always in reserve two sure weapons against them.

The first is a persecution effected by the provocation, organization, and arming of that herd instinct which makes men abhor all departures from custom, and, by the most cruel punishment and the wildest calumnies, force eccentric people to behave and profess exactly as other people do. The second is by leading the herd to war, which immediately and infallibly makes them forget everything, even their most cherished and hardwon public liberties and private interests, in the irresistible surge of their pugnacity and the tense pre-occupation of their terror.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW in a note on his play Androcles and the Lion, *sent by Valeda J. Bryant, Palo Alto, Calif.*

Sacrificial lives

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

"Christianity is today passing through the most strenuous test of its history because of the sacrificial lives of China's communist leaders."

This statement was made by a leading missionary of a great Protestant body who had just returned from China. His statement is part of a report lately made by Chinese Christians.

No greater argument can be found than such facts to support the contention that communism in the form of humanism has made of itself a true religion.

Hervey H. Anderson

The great war fallacy

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

Soviet Russia and China together comprise some 650,000,000 people. Communism holds sway over at least half the effectively-organized population of the earth. War will never check it, but only increase the poverty and suffering that give rise to it. After a terrible ordeal, the result of the projected war would most probably be a total communist world.

The only way to stem communism is to heal the poverty, suffering, and inequality that inspire it. Peaceful transition to equality is much to be preferred to world war and atomic cataclysm. Vernon Ward

Looking backward

OAK PARK, ILL.

Your interpretation of the U.S.'s unilateral action in Korea is splendid, but the following facts were overlooked:

On May 20, 1950, in a speech at New Orleans, Vice Pres. Barkley said: "We may have to occupy more countries before the cold war ends."

On June 21 in Tokyo, John Foster Dulles said after he had seen MacArthur that some form of "positive action" would be taken.

A few days after the war started, Dulles said: "I think the use of U.S. ground troops in Korea is very possible." Later he wouldn't comment.

The need for a Japanese peace treaty has been widely publicized the last six months. But a treaty would eliminate the last large and safe base near Asia capable of functioning as a springboard for U.S. divisions—except Korea.

The conclusion is fairly obvious: It was planned before the Korean civil war started that the North Korean defense against the unannounced South Korean attack would be the pretext for landing U.S. troops in Korea to maintain "law and order."

The Mikado took a gamble and lost with U.S. lives.

Don K. Morrice

Who was the dupe?

BURLINGTON, VT.

On their return from a European tour UAW's Vice-Pres. Livingston and East Coast director Charles Kerrigan say: "Our billions of ECA dollars have rehabilitated Europe's factories while these very funds have debilitated workers whose friendship we must have. . . . Some so poor they are literally digging coal naked in the mines . . . wearing wooden slats for shoes in steel mills. . . . A weekly income of $16 for an entire family of working people is very high throughout Europe." Meanwhile "owners are now earning huge profits . . . refusing to grant any economic gains to the workers."

Now that these right-wing gentlemen have come out with the truth, am I a dupe, a fool or a communist if I say: "I told you so?" The Progressive Party has maintained all along that ECA-ERP was devised for the monopolists' benefit and the workers' exploitation.

Helen M. MacMartin

Get out that pen

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The time is short and our position is desperate. I call on the GUARDIAN to do this: encourage everyone, young and old, to begin the biggest letter-writing campaign of our country's history.

I call for a deluge of mail to the UN, our last hope for an end to this incendiary Korea campaign before it turns into a world holocaust. Write to our friends as well as to our enemies, and let the world know what is happening here in America. To the delegates of Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Norway and Britain we must say: "We know you are being pressured from high sources in our country, nevertheless we speak to you. We are the voice of the people. We want peace, and if you vote for it you will be expressing the will of the American People."

Send them, too, each one a subscription to the GUARDIAN!

Eleanor Peres

We apologize

MONTROSE, COLO.

In your issue of Aug. 23, 1950, you printed a statement in your "Mailbag" column which purported to be written by me. Please be advised that until an acquaintance brought this matter to my attention, I had not known of the existence of your publication and never communicated or corresponded with you in any way and definitely did not forward to you the statements attributed to me in your Aug. 23, 1950 issue.

This statement was not made by me and does not reflect in any way my opinions or beliefs.

Theodore L. Brooks

Mr. Brooks was the victim of an office snafu unworthy of the GUARDIAN. His name as a requested recipient of a gift sub. was appended to a letter from the donor; in transcribing the letter he erroneously emerged as its author. Ed.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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WAR & PEACE

Trial balloons up; world scared sick

"THE incident is closed." So said a White House spokesman last week in reference to Navy Secy. Matthews' call for aggressive war and to Gen. MacArthur's proclamation that Formosa island must be held as a U.S. defense base. But repercussions of both "incidents" echoed from coast to coast and around the world.

Though officially repudiated, both statements were held by many to represent official policy. Hanson Baldwin in the N.Y. **Times** called Matthews' speech

> . . . clearly a trial balloon; the method of launching it was a favorite one of Mr. Matthews' political boss—Louis Johnson, Secy. of Defense, who has been selling the same doctrine of the preventive war in private conversations around Washington.

Matthews had in fact broached the strike-the-first-blow concept the week before in Omaha, headquarters of Strategic Air Commander Curtis Le May. But his Omaha speech got little publicity, no public reaction, no White House repudiation.

WON'T PLAY: French Defense Minister Jules Moch promptly said France would never take part in aggressive war. France's aim, he said, is to "prevent war and not to prevent war by making it." No British reactions had yet been published here but the influential **New Statesman & Nation** (Aug. 26) said this about a similar proposal made earlier by Harold Stassen:

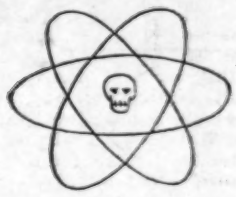
> The disquieting fact remains that, to judge by the American press, a considerable and growing body of opinion in the U.S. has come to accept the view that war against the Soviet Union has in fact begun; that in this conflict legal arguments about the status of Formosa are as irrelevant as the moral factors involved in the obliteration of North Korean cities; and that the raison d'etre of the UN is now to endorse what would be, in effect, not resistance to Communism, but a war of wholesale destruction against the nations and races of Eurasia.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

Marianne: "Which one should I die for?"

JOYFUL GOP: The real criticism in Washington of MacArthur's statement on Formosa was not of its content but of its timing: the Administration hoped to get UN sanction for its intervention there. But for GOP campaign strategy (Republican newspapers quickly made its nominal suppression **a cause celebre**) the timing was perfect. Sen. William Knowland (R-Cal.) at Cleveland Aug. 31 urged election of a Republican Congress that could "recommend impeachment proceedings where the facts justify." In Chicago Aug. 29 he had told an audience of 1,000 that to his personal knowledge MacArthur's recent visit to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, which Washington reported as having "surprised" the President, was authorized by Truman and the State and Defense Depts. GUARDIAN'S John B. Stone wrote from Washington:

> The MacArthur declaration fits in perfectly with Republican plans which have been carefully worked out for a period of weeks. Beginning with the Wherry manifesto two weeks ago and coming to a climax with the publication last week-end of the Handbook for Republican Workers, the GOP National Committee program is aimed at proving: 1) that Democratic bungling is causing American boys to die needlessly, and 2) that the Republicans by getting tougher sooner with Russia could have avoided all this. Gen. MacArthur, current subject of a political buildup in the Hearst and McCormick chains, is feared by the Truman advisers. This explains the note, almost of apology, sent Tuesday by Truman to MacArthur. It also explains the last-minute action ordering MacArthur to withdraw. No White House correspondents place any credence in the claim that Truman knew nothing about the message until the wire services carried it. White House reporters had advance texts as early as Thursday.



GOOKS & GORE: Nothing since the birth of the UN had tumbled U.S. prestige there as precipitately as the MacArthur and Matthews statements. Asiatic nations saw the "gook" attitude towards the peoples of Asia made practically official by MacArthur's appraisal of "oriental psychology" as needing "aggressive leadership" to "respect and follow." In European nations, conscious of their vulnerability to A-bombs, the Matthews manifesto conjured up visions of being occupied again and atomically "liberated." According to the N.Y. **Times,**

> . . . one Security Council delegate, who has voted steadfastly with the U.S. on the Korean and other questions, said both Gen. MacArthur and Mr. Matthews should be compelled to resign.

A N.Y. **Compass** reporter said several Security Council delegates had asked their governments for new instructions, in the belief that MacArthur is now running U.S. policy in Asia and will pay no attention to Truman's admonitions. So great was the reaction of U.S. allies that at the end of the week Truman was forced into a significant retreat. He announced at a press conference that the U.S. fleet would be withdrawn from the Formosan waters as soon as the Korean war was ended.

U.S. AGGRESSION LISTED: The U.S. was also very much on the defensive in the last Security Council meeting under the presidency of Soviet Delegate Malik. At the Aug. 28 session Malik presented for inclusion on the agenda China's complaint of U.S. aggression against Formosa (which, he pointed out, should properly be called Taiwan). The 7-point U.S. answer read into the records of the Council one week before had made a poor impression on most delegations. They wanted China's complaint on the agenda and U.S. delegate Austin was compelled to go along. Only Cuba and Chiang Kai-shek's delegate voted against its inclusion, with Egypt abstaining.

Malik then proposed the next logical step: an invitation to Communist China to send representatives to the discussions—as provided for in the Charter, and as fixed by Council practice in the cases of Kashmir, Indonesia and Palestine. Britain's Sir Gladwyn Jebb indicated he would vote in favor. France also intended to do so. But as the vote was about to be taken Austin jumped up, red-faced, with a speech remarkable for its arm-twisting of other delegations in full public view. As a result, France and Britain abstained while Yugoslavia, India, Norway and Russia voted in favor. After the meeting delegates expressed shock at Austin's open and heavy-handed pressure tactics. A member of the French delegation said: "They pulled the rope to the limit."

The invitation was not extended, but the division of the Western powers on China policy was clear. The press said Secy. Acheson at the Sept. 12 meeting of the three Western foreign ministers in New York hoped to "persuade" Britain and France to go along with U.S. policy.

SMALL "MISTAKE": At the Aug. 31 session Malik succeeded in getting on the agenda China's complaint that U.S. planes had bombed and strafed Manchurian villages. After speeches by Cuba, Egypt, and Chiang's delegate dismissing this complaint as propaganda, Austin admitted that a U.S. plane might have "by mistake" bombed a Manchurian airfield. The Council voted down Malik's proposal to put on its agenda the terrorism and political executions in Greece. To the Egyptian delegate's statement that this and the charge of U.S. bombing in China had crept into the agenda," Malik replied:

> "No, they broke into it—because life itself has raised these questions."

September's Council president, Sir Gladwyn Jebb of Britain, promptly seated South Korea's representative Dr. John Chang. Malik fought for a vote to invite both sides but lost; India's Rau led the attack on the proposal with a display of legalistic hair-splitting. The Council received another report from Gen. MacArthur claiming that North Korean forces were being recruited in Manchuria. The State Dept. notified the Council Sept. 5 that a Soviet bomber had been shot down in an attack on ships off Korea, and the body of a Soviet officer identified.

With the delegates beginning to arrive for the General Assembly which opens Sept. 19, it was clear that its chief problem will be the admission of

China. Indian pressure for this is continuing although Premier Nehru turned down an invitation to visit Peking—at the insistence, said columnist Drew Pearson, of U.S. Ambassador in India Loy Henderson. Nehru, in an interview about Korea with Tom Driberg of the London **Reynolds News,** said:

> "The great initial mistake was not to admit China to the Security Council at an earlier stage. . . . The Chinese people and their new government are honest and self-reliant. They have won their own victory without outside help. They feel they can take on anybody."

Nehru also quoted a UN Commissioner in Korea (a French citizen of White Russian origin) as telling him that the majority of the South Korean parliament had gone over to North Korea and that "the North Korean forces are being well received everywhere by the population."

A LITTLE WISDOM: In the U.S. the belief that China must be recognized as the basis for a peaceful Far Eastern settlement had prominent spokesmen. Walter Lippmann wrote in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** Aug. 28, that China, Russia and Japan have a vital national stake in Korea but our stake in Korea is

> . . . not of vital American national interest. . . . Let us try if we can to be wise enough to know that Korea and Japan and China and Russia will all still be there in the Far East when we who make speeches and write articles are dead and forgotten, and that in a long range settlement it is the enduring interests of nations that have to be taken into account.

Violent battle rages

UNITED STATES and Korean forces were locked in a war of attrition on the perimeter of the U.S. bridgehead, with the Koreans launching what appeared to be a major offensive at the week-end.

Hearst correspondent Bob Considine reported in the N.Y. **Journal American,** Aug. 29, that "our men have had to kill a lot of youngsters." He justified this on the grounds that Korean children are used as "spies." But, he wrote, "it is the kind of war that turns the stomachs of Americans and turns some of their minds too." He described one GI "close to a mental wreck in the Tokyo hospital" who had killed a little girl. "It was a case of kill the kids or get killed."

A minister in Sygman Rhee's South Korean government, Pshi Chang-yun, said in London last week:

> "We would not be strong enough to retain power and therefore American forces will have to stay in Korea for a number of years after the fighting ends."

LUST TO DESTROY: From Korea, the **Afro-American** reported jubilantly on how the entire town of Yechon, population 150,000, was destroyed by engineers led by Negro Lt. Charles Bussey. Lt. Bussey destroyed Yechon's rice mills, burning 300,000 tons of rice, enough to feed the city for a year. He demolished its railroad yards, its 200-foot bridge, its hydroelectric plant, and 40,000 homes and buildings.

In London, E. Thornton, Secy. of the 150,000-strong United Textile Factory Workers Assn. and a well known member of the Labor Party, said on his return from a Far Eastern mission:

> "I am profoundly convinced that the fighting in Korea between the North Koreans and the Americans will have to have the effect of uniting the Far Eastern peoples (except the very small wealthy class) against the Americans, British and other white races."

New groups join fight for peace

NEWSPAPERS everywhere published editorial warnings, "Don't Sign"; radio stations advised their listeners to report peace petitioners to the FBI; hoodlums attacked them; cops arrested them; many communities outlawed peace petitions; the U.S. government called the Peace Information Center a "foreign agent." But by last week 2,000,000 Americans had signed the World Peace Appeal. Organizations conducting the country-wide drive decided to continue through most of September.

Not all the signatures came from big cities and industrial centers. The National Labor Conference for Peace with headquarters in Chicago reported that Pueblo, Colo., sent in 3,000—giving it the country's highest rating in proportion to total population. Names were being received from such places as Tripoli, Wisc., Wichita Falls, Tex., Hillsdale, N.J., Trignite and Bowbelle, N.D., and Colfax, Iowa. Said the Labor Conference:

> In spite of all the intimidation, attacks and smears by the war promoters and profiteers, our organization is now more solidly rooted in industrial and population centers throughout the country than at any time since it was organized in October of last year.

HUMANITY IN FEAR: At the University of Chicago 39 members of the faculty signed a statement asking President Truman "to leave no avenue of possible peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict unexplored." They backed the mediation proposals of India's Prime Minister Nehru and said:

> In the interests not only of the American people, but of all of humanity, who live in fear of an atomic world war, we most earnestly urge acceptance of the Nehru plan as a last great effort to halt the threat to world peace which now confronts humanity.

Another Chicago group, the U.S. Committee Against Militarization, was actively backing the Nehru plan with wide distribution of appeals to U.S. citizens to wire the President, Congressmen and UN Secy. Gen. Trygve Lie urging acceptance of mediation.

QUAKERS' WARNING: The Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers) issued an appeal "to the United Nations, to the nations of the world, to the churches, and to us, as individuals" to "seek peace and pursue it with as much vigor and determination and sacrifice as men have done to fight wars which have not ended war." It urged action against "the increased tendency in Washington to accept a war with Russia as inevitable, or even desirable," and warned that the outcome of such a war "would more likely be a war of attrition, dev-

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Death comes to a Korean
Buried in his earth by a UN shell

(Continued from preceding page)

astation and exhaustion of all involved."

In New York City a group of six clergymen, headed by Rev. John W. Darr Jr., Congregationalist minister, applied for a permit to hold a public peace rally in Union Square. A peace demonstration there was banned by the mayor and broken up by police on Aug. 2. Calling themselves the "Ad Hoc Committee to Re-Establish the Right of Public Platform for Peace Groups," the clergymen said:

> We cannot, in conscience, submit to the ban on free speech and assembly. We cannot tolerate a condition in which peace becomes a heresy and advocacy of peace is prosecuted as a crime.

THE SEVEN SEAS: More than 100 prominent Negroes in all fields of endeavor issued a plea for peace:

> Neither might of wealth nor military power can settle the struggles in Asia and Africa for freedom and autonomy. Against this action we Negroes of America solemnly protest and call to our support the peoples of all Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, South America and the Seven Seas. We call the world to emancipate mankind and not to re-enslave the poor and oppressed to triumphant greed.

In China the Chinese Peace Committee reported that 60,000,000 signatures to the World Peace Appeal had been collected in three months, set a goal of 200,000,000. All around the globe preparations were being made for the Second Congress of the World Peace Movement to be held in London in mid-November. Between 2,000 and 3,000 delegates were expected.

FREEDOMS

Your liberty in HST's pocket

THE eyes of free America rested on the President's pocket.

Within one or two weeks, it seemed, he would have on his desk a bill in effect establishing penalties for political acts, thoughts, writings and associations that might be branded by a tribunal as "subversive." His signature would make it law, thereby largely annulling the Bill of Rights.

If he vetoed the measure, American liberties would be back in the hands of Congressmen whose present devotion to freedom was shown in recent voting.

The House had passed the Wood Bill 354 to 20.

The McCarran Bill, recommended by the Judiciary Committee, seemed assured of safe passage in the Senate. An earlier bill against "subversive" immigrants, introduced by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), had been passed by the Senate unanimously.

The war-whooping Congress could easily override the President's veto.

WILL HE? The President could kill the bill without danger of being overridden, but only by "pocket" veto, that is, by pocketing the bill without acting on it for ten days after Congress adjourns. Ordinarily if he fails to act within ten days—excluding Sundays and holidays—the bill becomes law, but only if Congress is in session. If at the end of 10 days Congress is not in session and the President has done nothing about the bill, it dies.

Congress is desperately anxious to adjourn. Majority Leader Scott Lucas (D-Ill.), itching to resume his campaign for re-election, has set Sept. 9 as the target day. House leaders count on Sept. 15. A measure acceptable to both houses is not likely to be ready before Sept. 11.

WARY POLITICOS: The pocket-veto seemed an excellent way to get politicians off the hook. With November elections in the offing, most Congressmen and the President look warily on one hand at McCarthy Republicans, Southern Democrats and home-front warriors; on the other hand at the CIO, the Quakers, Americans for Democratic Action, United Council of American Churchwomen, Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People and American Jewish Congress—all of whom oppose the pending bills.

If there were a pocket-veto, Congressmen could point to their vote for the bill; liberal attacks would miss fire because no visible harm resulted. The President could make hay with the liberals without presenting his opponents with a signed veto of an "internal security" bill.

All hopes, therefore, centered on Harry S. Truman and his ample pocket. The Natl. Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill called for more than hopes: for telegrams and letters to the President urging a pocket-veto for any police-state measure.

IF IT COMES: A combination of the Senate's McCarran Bill and the House's Wood Bill, which is likely to reach the President's desk, would

- Require all Communist Party officers and members to register, report all activities.
- Require all officers of "communist front" groups to register. The McCarran Bill would include members as well.
- Deprive Communists and "communist front" organizations of the mails unless they labeled material as "communist."
- Designate as a "communist front organization" any whose position coincides with that of an "enemy" government or party, or which refuses to reveal its membership lists.
- Leave all decisions to a 5-man Subversive Activities Control Board.
- Declare unlawful "any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship" under foreign control (McCarran Bill only.)
- Set penalties for infractions at 10 years or $10,000 fines.

As an alternative, Administration supporter Sen. Kilgore (D-W. Va.) proposed simply that communists be interned. Sen. Mundt (R-S. D.), whose proposals are summed up in the McCarran Bill, denounced Kilgore's plan as "Gestapo tactics."

A newsboy on New York's Broadway summed up: "Read all about it. If you're Russian you gotta wear a dog-tag."

SNIPERS: While priming the gun of an omnibus police-state measure, Congressional committees kept up a running fire.

The Senate Judiciary Committee voted unanimously to investigate the "fitness" of all federal judges. The action came after a federal court ordered Harry Bridges, west coast longshoremen's leader, freed on bail pending appeal. Sen. William Langer (R-N. D.) said:

> "If the facts in the Bridges case are as they have been stated to me, Judges William Orr and William Healy of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals should be impeached and thrown out of office."

The Senate committee seemed to bear out the contention of Judges Orr and Healy who wrote in their Bridges decision:

> But here in this case, a procedure admittedly without precedent in the history of the Republic has been inaugurated, namely, to make the courts the effective instruments of executive expediency.

NEW CONTEMPT: The Un-American Activities Committee seized upon the testimony of Lee Pressman, ex-New Dealer, ex-CIO counsel, ex-ALP member, to make new headlines, new contempt citations.

Pressman had told the committee

that his three oldest friends had been Communists: Nathan Witt, his former law partner; John Abt, chief counsel for the Progressive Party, and Charles Kramer, former Agriculture Dept. employe and an assistant to Claude Pepper. Pressman said he did not know Alger Hiss' political convictions.

Because his testimony contradicted that of Whittaker Chambers, committeemen indicated Chambers might be recalled to the stand. On Friday Abt, Kramer and Witt were recalled.

STAR CHAMBER: As they did two years ago when they appeared before the same committee, all three stood on the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution and rtfused to incriminate themselves or their associates.

John Abt, in a prepared statement, which he could not read but was allowed to insert into the record, said:

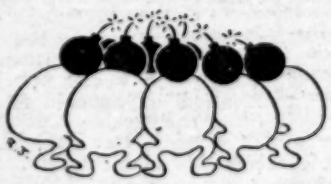
> It is a sorry commentary on the state of constitutional liberties in America that it should be necessary to remind a Committee of the Congress that the great constitutional guarantee against involuntary self-accusation had its origin in the struggle against the hateful Star Chamber of the British Crown. . . .
>
> It is therefore a gross violation of the very right that the Fifth Amendment was designed to protect, to imply that its invocation is evidence of guilt. It was embodied in the Constitution, not to shield the guilty, but for the high purpose of

(Continued on following page)

MAX WERNER

The illusion of atomic strategy still persists

THE tragic experience of the Korean war would be wasted were it not for its refutation of the illusions of atomic strategy. Yet the illusion still persists. Only last week a solid Washington weekly (**U.S. News**) pictured a quick and easy atomic success: "All big targets can be hit the same day Russia strikes."



There should be no doubt that the A-bomb can be a decisive weapon against Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan—that is, middle-sized, densely-populated countries. But the real problem is whether it can be decisive against big continental powers—the U.S., the U.S.S.R., or China. Here the answer is an emphatic No.

"To ignore enemy defenses would be naive, indeed," wrote Dr. Vannevar Bush about the limitations of atomic strategy. But this is just what the advocates of atomic strategy are doing. The belief in the victorious A-bomb presumes that the bomb in its destructive effect and the bomber in its attack are irresistible. But the long-range heavy bomber is a slow, unwieldy and technologically "conventional" weapon. The air defense of today is led by jets, ground-to-air rocket and radar-directed anti-aircraft artillery—super-weapons having the edge of the super-bomber in speed and tactical effect.

KILLING ISN'T WINNING: The ardent spokesman for air-atomic strategy, the brilliant Colonel Dale O. Smith, recognized (**Air University Quarterly Review**) that the jet interceptor, which attacks the heavy bomber, is superior to the propeller-driven escort plane, which defends it. The atomic offensive cannot win against a well-equipped continental power which has atomic defense in depth, being protected by space, in addition to its modern anti-atomic defense weapons.

Navy aviation experts who drew these conclusions last October at Congressional hearings were right. Anti-atomic defense covers the entire national effort directed to ward off, neutralize and absorb the atomic shock. We call it **civilian** defense, the French, **passive** defense. This effort includes protection, dispersion and removal of industry to the deep rear. It is just the kind of anti-atomic defense which is the forte of Soviet strategy.

This Soviet anti-atomic strategy is ruthlessly realistic. It gives absolute priority to air defense, and strengthens it to the maximum. It concentrates air defense on main industrial centers and military installations. It is ready to take the heaviest toll in civilian lives and industrial damage provided that the war effort proper is not crippled. A city-busting atomic strategy cannot break the Soviet war effort. It can only kill civilians and achieve marginal damage.

THE HIGHER THE FEWER: Anti-atomic defense is favored by the inaccuracy of the attacking bombers. Some U.S. experts calculated that the rate of hits might be no higher than 20%, with half of the bombers intercepted and some 30% of the bomb drops—including inaccurate ones—chalked up as operational failures. If their calculation is correct, then four out of five atomic bombs dropped might be duds.

The leading British and French aviation experts underline that bombing against defenses is inaccurate. In order to avoid defending fighter planes, bombers must fly at maximum speed and at the highest possible altitude. But as the bomber flies higher and faster, its accuracy diminishes. The task of defending fighter planes, if they cannot smash the attacking bombers, is to make the enemy's bombing inaccurate. This they can do, and again technical conditions favor the defense.

The atomic bomb has to be delivered. To be victorious against a big power, the attacker has to dominate the skies, control the air, defeat the air-defenses of the enemy. The bomber cannot win battles against armadas of fighters. It is the fighter that is the instrument of air control. But U.S. fighters are limited, and even in the new Air Force expansion to 69 groups, they will be unable to dominate the skies over Europe and Asia. Our atomic strategy is based not on the supremacy in the air that the U.S. fighters will need to win, but on the supposed ability of the bombers to avoid the air battle with the fighters and break through to the targets.

BASELESS BASES: Air offensive demands strong bases close to the enemy. The **U.S. News** article puts big hopes in the effectiveness of Britain as a base. But Capt. Norman MacMillan, leading British aviation specialist, wrote in the June **Aeronautics:**

> It [the B-29 bomber from British bases] is unable to reach out to the great industrial areas behind the Urals, and faced with great defense in depth, might find it difficult even to reach the industrial areas around Moscow without suffering crippling losses.

Let us face the facts. In Korea a quarter of our entire Air Force cannot force a decision against a small country, in spite of round-the-clock strategic bombing. True, the atomic bomb was not used. But Korea has an area of only 0.4% of the Euro-Asiatic land mass, and has practically no air defenses. Transpose the Korean air war experience to the entire Euro-Asiatic land mass—and the inadequacy of our air power for sustained atomic bombing will become apparent.

III. WHY THE U.S. ABANDONED PEACE

The face is Matthews' but the voice is Morgan-Rockefeller's

As the GUARDIAN prepared for the press its second article in this series, showing how Morgan and Rockefeller men reversed FDR's peace policy since 1945, the Administration "disavowed" Navy Secy. Matthews' call for "'aggression for peace." In this 3rd installment we introduce readers to Matthews and others of the Morgan-Rockefeller "men in government" who with him have led the war drive.

FRANCIS P. MATTHEWS: Former director of Dept. of Finance for U. S. Chamber of Commerce and chairman of its Committee on Socialism and Communism; former director and exec. committee member of Northwestern Bell Telephone (Morgan Tel. & Tel. monopoly); past commdr. Knights of Columbus, Papal Chamberlain since 1944; Secy. of Navy since 1949. Represents Morgan and Vatican interests in the Cabinet.

W. STUART SYMINGTON: Surplus Property Administrator 1945-6; Asst. Secy. of War for Air 1946-7; Air Force Secy. 1947-50. Now chairman, National Security Resources Board; as such, director of war mobilization.

Through his wife Evelyn Wadsworth (daughter of N.Y. Republican representative James Wadsworth) Symington is linked to the Payne Whitney family, which made its fortune with the Rockefellers in Standard Oil and was associated with the Morgans in the street car business. Symington became a protege of Charles S. Payson (married into the Whitney family) who made Symington manager of the Baltimore Rustless Iron & Steel Co.; later Payson sold the mill to, and became a director of, Andrew Mellon's American Rolling Mill Co. (The Mellon interests, like Kuhn Loeb, operate closely with the Rockefellers.) Payson helped finance Merwin K. Hart, apologist for Franco and Hitler, Hart's N.Y. State Economic Council, and the **Commentator,** later the unofficial organ of the America First Committee.

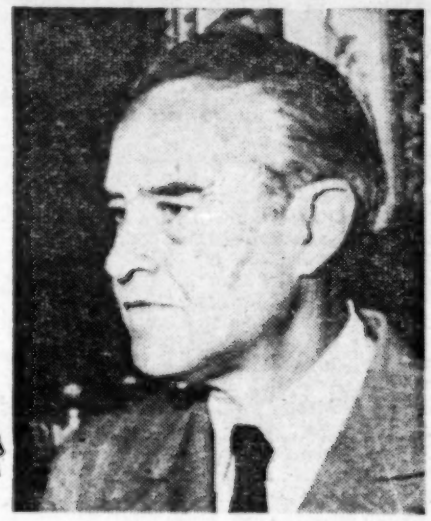
When Symington lost his job with the sale of the Baltimore mill, Payson sent him to David Van Alstyne, a power in the Republican Party of N.J. and a partner in the brokerage firm, Van Alstyne, Noel & Co. When this firm reorganized the Emerson Electric Mfg. Co. of St. Louis, it appointed Symington president.

Symington was brought into the government by another Payson protege, ARTEMUS L. GATES, close friend of the late Defense Chief James Forrestal and his Asst. Secy. of the Navy. Gates had been president of the Morgan-controlled N.Y. Trust Co. and was the Morgan man on the board of directors of Luce publications **Time, Life** and **Fortune.** Symington owed his rise in government to Gates and Forrestal, former president of Dillon Read, associated with both Morgans and Rockefellers (GUARDIAN, Aug. 23).

Also leading the war drive with Symington and Averell Harriman—adviser to the President, a Morgan-Rockefeller representative (GUARDIAN, Aug. 16)—is:

W. STUART SYMINGTON
Please—war!

Tvorba, Prague
The Puppet Show



W. AVERELL HARRIMAN
War, please

LOUIS JOHNSON: National Commdr, American Legion 1932-3; Asst. Secy. of War 1937-40; director and general counsel of I. G. Farben's U. S. front, General Aniline & Film, president for five years of General Aniline's subsidiary General Dyestuffs; director of Consolidated Vultee; Secy. of Defense since 1949. Represents Rockefeller interests in the Cabinet; associated with them through the international Schroder banking combine, whose N.Y. investment bank is Schroder, Rockefeller & Co.

• • •

The policy of these men, who are in the forefront of the war drive, differs from that of the Administration as a whole only in the openness with which it is stated. Representatives of the same financial groups make policy throughout the government. Secy. Acheson himself came to the State Dept., from a law firm which represented the Iranian and Greek governments and the Arabian American Oil Co. (Rockefeller). His law partner, John G. Laylin, was made a director of the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp. of N.Y. in 1947 (the Schroder Bank's law firm is Sullivan & Cromwell of which John Foster Dulles is a partner). These others in State are noteworthy:

GEORGE W. PERKINS: Chief of Industries division, ECA, 1948-9; Asst. Secy. of State for European Affairs since 1949; formerly a director of Morgan's Natl. City Bank.

His father, George Walbridge Perkins, was J. P. Morgan's top political lieutenant early in the century. A vice-president of Morgan's N.Y. Life Insurance Co., he negotiated the Intl. Harvester combine in 1902, later resigned to become a director of J. P. Morgan & Co.

The present George Perkins is married to Magda Merck, sister of George Merck, head of Merck & Co. of which Perkins is a vice-president. One of the directors is Edward Green of Sullivan & Cromwell. Merck & Co. was financed by Goldman Sachs, which operates more and more closely with the Morgan interests.

JAMES WEBB: Exec. Asst. to Under Secy. of Treasury, 1946; director, Bureau of Budget, 1946-9; Under Secy. of State since Jan., 1949; vice-pres. of Sperry Gyroscope Co.; owes his rise in government to the N. Carolina Duke family, who are associated with the Morgans through John W. Hanes, director of Morgan's Bankers Trust, Morgan lieutenant in N. Carolina.

PAUL HENRY NITZE: Vice-pres. of Dillon Read; vice-chairman, U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, 1944-6; Dep. Director, Office of International Trade Policy, State Dept., 1946; Dep. to Asst. Secy. of State for Economic Affairs 1948-9; head of State Dept. Policy Planning Board since Dec., 1949.

Nitze represents the Rockefellers in the State Dept. He is married to Phyllis Pratt of the Pratt Standard Oil family of Brooklyn. He comes of a strongly pro-German family involved in pro-German activities here during World War I (GUARDIAN, Dec. 26, 1949). Through his Dillon Read post Nitze was involved with the German cartels.

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protecting the innocent against exactly the kind of Star Chamber proceedings in which this Committee has so long engaged. . . .

To the best of my ability, then, I shall follow the precept of Thomas Jefferson, who wrote:

"It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own. It behooves him, too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, betraying the common right of independent opinion, by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between God and himself."

Represssion storm: no abatement

TO President Truman and the mayors of 192 U.S. cities had come an urgent appeal to safeguard civil rights,

sponsored by Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, former Governor of the Virgin Islands, and Dr. John B. Thompson, Dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel of the University of Chicago. Signed by 70 of the leading educators, scientists, clergymen, writers and civic leaders in the U.S., it reminded its recipients that

. . . the safeguarding of the Constitution is in practice the safeguarding of the freedom of speech and opinion of all citizens by those entrusted with enforcing our laws.

But around the country there was no abatement of the repression that had risen steadily since the Korean war. These were some of freedom's casualties during the week:

NEW YORK: N.Y. CITY: The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals revoked the bail of ten Communist Party leaders pending appeal of their conviction under the Smith Act, but granted them 30 days in which to apply for bail directly to the Supreme Court. If it is denied there, they must surrender themselves. The Civil Rights Congress said the decision threatens the traditional right of bail for all, urged protests to Atty. Gen. J. Howard McGrath.

Following the removal from TV's "Aldrich Family" show of actress Jean Muir whose name appeared in a **Counter-Attack** blacklist, the Joint Committee Against Communism in New York headed by Rabbi Benjamin Schultz announced it would seek a purge of all "communists" in radio and television. The American Civil Liberties Union counter-moved by announcing an investigation of political blacklisting of radio personnel. Vigorous disavowal by Miss Muir of connections with any suspect organization did not save her job.

The RCA-Victor Co. withdrew from the market one of its best-selling records in the folk song field, "Old Man Atom." Hearst's **Journal-American** had objected to it as reflecting "the Communist line on the A-bomb and peace." These words it found particularly offensive:

So listen, folks, here's my thesis: peace in the world or the world in pieces.

Madison Square Garden, New York's traditional meeting place for all groups, canceled a lease for a Sept. 14 rally by the Council on African Affairs, called to protest denial of a passport to its chairman Paul Robeson.

Four men arrested at a peace demonstration in Union Square on Aug. 2 were convicted of disorderly conduct. Three drew 30-day sentences; the fourth was to be sentenced later. Several others were still to be tried. The Civil Rights Congress was appealing all cases.

GLOVERSVILLE: The Kiwanis Club canceled a speaking engagement for Owen Lattimore, Far Eastern expert

smeared by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wisc.) but cleared by a Senate investigating committee. It was Lattimore's second cancellation in a week.

ALBANY: A State Supreme Court Justice upheld the right of the N.Y. City Board of Education to appoint an outside trial examiner to hear charges against eight Teachers Union leaders who wouldn't answer questions about their politics.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Rev. Richard Morford, executive director of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship whose records he refused to give to the Un-American Activities Committee, began serving a three-month sentence for contempt of Congress. After a stormy session the House voted 183 to 175 to cite for contempt Dr. Edward A. Rumely, convicted World War I German spy who refused to tell the House Lobbying Committee who paid for his ultra-right-wing lobbying. Then it voted 238 to 106 to cite for contempt William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, because he withheld names of CRC's members and contributors. (During the Committee hearing Rep. Henderson Lanham (D-Ga.) had called Patterson a "black son of a bitch," tried to assault him; the House had ignored demands for an apology.) Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) voted against both citations.

FLORIDA: The City Council adopted a resolution making it a crime "to promote or try to advance the Communist Party in any way." Punishment, $500 fine or 180 days in jail or both.

JACKSONVILLE: Stetson Kennedy, independent write-in candidate for the U.S. Senate on a "total equality" platform, for a second time protested to the Federal Communications Commission over refusal of radio stations to grant him time in violation of Commission rulings. Alexander W. Trainor, Florida Communist Party secretary, declined to comment when asked what he intended to do as Jacksonville's new ordinance, giving Communists 48 hours to get out of town, was about to go into effect.

MYRTLE BEACH, S.C.: A march on a Negro dance hall by a 50-car band of masked and hooded Ku Klux Klansmen brought death to policeman James D. Johnson, who wore his uniform under his sheet. More than 300 shots were fired when the attacked Negroes defended themselves.

CALIFORNIA: LOS ANGELES: Communist leaders announced defiance of three new county ordinances requiring registration of all persons with "a pink tinge." Party spokesmen said:

We will not comply with this nor any other illegal measure which places the American people in jeopardy.

The sheriff said he would begin

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arresting known Communists Sept. 1. The Board of Supervisors chairman urged the county's 45 cities and municipalities to adopt similar ordinances.

SAN FERNANDO: State Assemblyman Julian Beck said he would introduce a bill in the legislature providing death penalty for sabotage. SANTA MONICA: The City Council unanimously approved a loyalty oath ordinance for city employes on its first reading. SAN FRANCISCO: Mayor Elmer E. Robinson endorsed a loyalty oath proposal now before the Board of Supervisors; the board asked Los Angeles County for copies of its Communist registration ordinances. BERKELEY: The Board of Regents of the University of California voted to give 31 faculty members 10 days to sign a loyalty oath or be dismissed. The 31 had earlier been assured they would not be fired for not signing.

FALL RIVER, MASS.: Mayor William P. Grant, president of the Massachusetts Mayors Assn., is conducting through that organization a nation-wide campaign to ban "subversive" literature, asking mayors of all U.S. cities to sponsor ordinances prohibiting its distribution. The Assn. has also asked Jacksonville, Fla., for a copy of its ordinances banishing Communists from the city.

CUMBERLAND, MD.: The City Council set Tuesday for action on a proposed ordinance to require Communists to register.

PENNSYLVANIA: PITTSBURGH: On charges filed by Judge Michael A. Musmanno, who accompanied police on raids including Communist Party headquarters where records were seized, Western Pennsylvania CP chairman Steve Nelson, **Daily Worker** correspondent James Dolsen and steelworkers organizer Andrew Onda were arrested in their homes before dawn. ERIE: A new law requires Communists and their supporters to register after Sept. 28. The City Council was considering a loyalty oath for the city's 700 employees.

LABOR

Lewis mocks AFL 'respectability'

WAR, communism and Samuel Gompers were the theme of Labor Day oratory. Labor's top brass fastened the movement more closely to the war effort. John L. Lewis dissented; progressives protested; the rank and file fought for more take-home pay to beat a threatened wage-freeze.

William Green, president of the AFL, had taken these steps to prepare his organization "in the face of communist aggression": expressed willingness to take a no-strike pledge (though the government had not yet asked him to); dickered with CIO President Philip Murray on unity proposals, pointedly excluding John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers; served on an advisory committee to W. Stuart Symington,

chairman of the Natl. Security Resources Board, from which Lewis was also excluded.

NOT JOHN L.'s MESS: To all this John L. Lewis dissented, sharply, eloquently, typically. He wrote to Green:

> You know, Bill, that I am ever distressed when I have to disturb the calm placidity of your ordered existence. Yet I suggest that the rights of American workers in industry should not be bartered to appease your innate craving for orthodox respectability.
>
> It follows that any mess that you cook up with the CIO, if you can cook up any mess with the CIO, will of course have to be eaten by you and you alone. We do our own cooking. . . .
>
> You have stipulated the Mine Workers out of representation on the select, star-chamber labor committee, which you designated to please Symington. We gently advise that we will not be bound by your deliberations or commitments conducted or made in our absence. We do our own committing. . . .
>
> The press chronicles you as plodding about the country, seeking someone to whom you can give a "no-strike pledge." I am sure that you will pardon me when I suggest that the Mine Workers are not yet ready for you to sell them down the river. Restrict pledges to your own outfit. We do our own no-striking.

Green, outpointed, outslugged, countered only that the UMW might be "out of place in a movement which might be committed to a no-strike policy in order to defend our country and save it from communist aggression."

CIO FOR LONGER HOURS: Philip Murray as a member of the advisory committee to Security Resources Board Chairman Symington blueprinted labor's war-time future. He proposed a plan for "total production." In what he called "an unprecedented document" the CIO head called for longer hours for workers and the hiring by industry of the unemployed, housewives, partially handicapped and the retired. He also called for centralized authority in the "defense effort," plant expansion, overseas investment to obtain critical materials, provisions for war workers' housing and rent controls.

In another phase of war-time mobilization the CIO Executive Board expelled the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Marine Cooks and Stewards, last of the left-wing unions which defied edicts of the top CIO officials. In all, 12 were slated for expulsion at the convention last year. Charges were withdrawn against the Furniture Workers after that union endorsed Murray's politics and policies.

On the West Coast, longshoremen threatened "stop-work" meetings to "consider" the CIO action. ILWU President Harry Bridges, fighting Congressional attacks on his union, FBI "screening," and his own imprisonment, had always counseled: "Stay in the CIO as long as you can." He made no comment on the expulsion but other ILWU officials said: "We are far better off out."

Murray said he hoped to split some longshoremen away from the ILWU, and form a faction to do on the docks what the Independent Electrical Union did in the electrical plants.

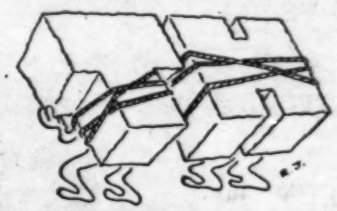
BEFORE THE FREEZE: The war-born threat of a wage-freeze in the midst of inflation threw workers into action everywhere to boost their pay before the deadline. A month ago the Packinghouse workers had set the pace with an 11c-an-hour increase. Auto workers had gained 9c at Packard, 10c at Chrysler, 10c at Motor Products Co., 5-10c at Briggs Mfg. Co.

On Labor Day Ford and UAW President Walter Reuther agreed on a new contract four months before the old one expired. It follows the GM formula: 5-year contract, wage increases tied to the cost-of-living. Pay raises are to range from 8c to 13c an hour now, increase 4c an hour each year.

The ten plants of the Intl. Harvester Co. were shut down. UAW members struck Aug. 24 when negotiations collapsed. The Farm Equipment Council of the United Electrical Workers struck Aug. 28 when the company reneged on its agreement providing wage increases of from 7 to 27c. FE officials called the company's action "the most brazen double-cross in modern labor history."

GOLD COMPLIES: Ben Gold, president of the Intl. Fur and Leather Workers Union, announced his resignation from the Communist Party so that his union might comply with the Taft-Hartley Law. He said he did not abandon his convictions.

CAREY SAVED: James B. Carey, chairman of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers (CIO), had called a strike at General Electric for Tuesday morning, demanding the company pay all pension costs. But on the eve



of the strike his Bridgeport local voted to stay at work and locals in Pittsfield, Mass., set next Thursday for a secret-ballot strike vote. The United Electrical Workers said they, not Carey, would call the strike signals in their own shops, though they would observe IUE picket lines in IUE plants. (UE has 46,000 workers in 40 plants; IUE, 58,000 in 51 plants.)

By Labor Day Carey seemed far out on a limb. When the U.S. offered federal mediation he enthusiastically accepted and called off the strike. He announced that the GE crisis still made it necessary for him to postpone the IUE's convention from Sept. 11 to Dec. 4.

ECONOMY

Broad war controls sock workingman

THE nation was to be "controlled" for war under provisions which Philip Murray of the CIO called a "farce and a fraud" and the **Wall Street Journal** termed "an impossible muddle."

The instruments of control were passed by both houses of Congress on Friday but scarcely mentioned in a broadcast by the President that same evening. He appealed to the Chinese to let Formosa go for the time being and stay out of war; he announced that our armed forces would be doubled; but he put off until later this week the job of telling what controls he would use, how tight belts would be pulled.

The measure gives the President authority to impose rationing (which he said he would not exercise at once); controls over credit and installment buying which probably will be imposed soon. Restrictions on speculation in food and real estate are light. It also enables the President to lend billions to industries for new plants and equipment. At the end of the last war the companies got those plants, built out of taxpayers' money, at one-fourth their cost.

Power to allocate scarce materials and set up priorities seemed almost routine.

EARLY FREEZE: The items that would pack the greatest wallop were those imposing price and wage controls—neither of which, the President said, he would put into effect just yet. The measure would require him to freeze wages in any price-controlled industry. Prices are already racing so far ahead of wages that if both should be frozen simultaneously the workingman would take the beating.

Even William Green of the AFL joined Murray in protesting a sudden wage freeze without "some adjustment." Also embarrassing to the Administration's labor support was the pointed requirement that all action under the law must be in line with Taft-Hartley.

VOLUNTARY TALK: A threat to the right to strike lay visible in a clause authorizing the President, in time of industrial disputes, to initiate conferences "between management, labor and such persons as the President may designate to represent the government and the public." The conferences are to be "voluntary" but the labor brass seemed unlikely to resist a Presidential invitation to one.

Similar conferences replaced collective bargaining in Fascist Italy, were officially endorsed by the Vatican in a special Encyclical during the 'thirties, and have been recommended in resolutions quietly passed in recent CIO conventions.

PAYING THE FREIGHT: The war needed increased production and also somebody to pay the freight. The workingman was tagged for both jobs. Murray called the new tax bill, seemingly sure to pass, "brazen" and an "affront to the people of the U.S." The **Wall St. Journal** said bluntly:

> Sound financing of the Korean war—and the big rearmament program growing out of it—will have to mean "soaking the poor" as well as "soaking the rich."

Compared with 1948 taxes, a man earning $3,000 will have his tax upped 20%; but someone earning $100,000 will

only pay 13.7% more. Similarly a business earning $5,000 will pay 19% more over 1948 while one earning $500,000 will pay only 15.8% more.

Moreover the measure retains excise profits taxes which hit lower-bracket people proportionately harder. And big business, riding a mounting war boom, will probably have no excess profits tax to worry about. Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) had tried for some profits tax, however feeble, but in the midst of his fight the President dampened O'Mahoney's ardor by announcing that he did not favor one just now. On Friday the Senate voted to postpone excess profits taxes to next year.

Business Week forecast that, as war expenses mount, the money now called for "will soon look like a small down payment."

POLITICS

ALP runs Du Bois for U.S. Senator

INTO New York's cut-and-dried political situation the American Labor Party dropped a real blockbuster for peace as the GUARDIAN went to press:

Revered Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, world-famous historian, humanitarian and peace advocate, for U.S. Senator. A founder of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People 40 years ago and its research director for 26 years, Dr. Du Bois is the first Negro candidate for Senator ever to be nominated by a major N.Y. political party. He opposes incumbent Democrat Herbert H. Lehman, supporter of Administration war measures, and (probably) Republican Joe R. Hanley, presently N.Y. Lt.-Governor.

For N.Y. governor, incumbent Republican Thomas E. Dewey this week surprised no one by retracting his notice of retirement, making himself available for renomination.

Against him, Democratic party chiefs first tried Appeals Court Justice Albert Conway, got dirty looks from labor, finally settled on Bronx Congressman Walter Lynch.

McMANUS FOR GOVERNOR: Running with Dr. Du Bois on the ALP statewide ticket will be John T. McManus, general manager of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, for governor; Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, social worker and woman peace leader, for lt.-governor; Michael J. Jiminez, upstate United Electrical Workers leader, for controller; and Leo J. Linder, Brooklyn attorney and social security expert, for attorney-general.

In New York City's bye-election for mayor, ALP's candidate will be noted attorney Paul L. Ross, former administrative assistant to Mayor William O'Dwyer. Democrats seemed settled on Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora, to the outspoken displeasure of Acting Mayor Vincent Impelletteri, now running the city since the retirement of Mayor O'Dwyer to become Ambassador to Mexico. Republicans had not picked their man yet; ADA-Liberals waited outside, planned to tag along with one or the other of the big boys.

Don't be an "armchair progressive." Get subs — Send $$ to the Guardian.

THE AMERICAN INQUISITION

Why you can't answer 'yes' or 'no'

He answered

Lee Pressman (l.) gave the inquisitors the cue they wanted.

He didn't

For Richard Morford (r.)—jail with a clear conscience. (See p. 5).

Fifty-seven Americans have gone to jail for exercising their plain rights under the 1st and 5th Amendments to the Constitution, under which freedom of speech may not be abridged and no-one may be compelled to be a witness against himself. The article below is the result of a consultation with a legal expert on the dangers to the civil rights of citizens haled before committees.

MANY people wonder why Americans are going to jail rather than answer questions about their political beliefs. "Why don't they answer?" But the problem is not so simple. It must be set against the nature of the times, the motives of the drive toward a new war.

Any reading of the press will tell you the result of answering "Yes" to the $64 question, "Are you a Communist?" Even the claim—still being made—that there is no law making it illegal to be a Communist is not true any more. The Smith Act has been used to prosecute those holding such unpopular views, and 11 Communists have already been convicted for being Communists. No overt act was charged or proved against them.

When and if the conviction of the 11 is affirmed, the Attorney General has promised that all Communists will be prosecuted under the Smith Act. But even if a Communist is not prosecuted, loss of his job and blacklisting are almost automatic, and all manner of indignities are certain to follow.

On the very day when Sen. McCarthy charged that Mrs. Brunauer—respected $10,000-a-year State Dept. employee—was a Communist (which she was not), she received threatening letters, obscene phone calls and a suggestion that she move from the neighborhood or be taken out in a box.

"NO"-MAN'S DILEMMA: But people still ask: "Why not answer 'No' when that is the fact?"

In these days of terror and hysteria, it is not so simple. To answer "No" under oath is to risk prosecution for perjury, and that is the trap being set for you. Such prosecutions today are easily carried through; convictions are almost automatic. Carl Marzani, who answered "No", is serving a one-year sentence now. Fearful of witch-hunts and loyalty tests, a jury of government employees found against him on the evidence of stoolpigeons and paid government witnesses. He is in jail despite the fact that one judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals and four Supreme Court judges (making an equally divided court) dissented. Union leader Harold Christoffel, who answered "No", was sentenced to six years.

THE TRAP: Moreover, you do not endear yourself to the witch-hunters simply by denying or affirming Communist Party membership. Whatever you say you will be asked many more questions: Who else is a Communist? Whom else do you know and how did you meet and know him? Did you attend this meeting, support that cause?

In other words you must then become a fingerman for the witch-hunters, and unless you are willing to do a Louis Budenz you will surely be judged in contempt anyway—as was Earl Browder, who apparently tried to answer all questions put to him without always availing himself of his constitutional privileges. He refused to identify some people, would not help the committee put the finger on enough people whom they thought should be named.

Any one of millions of progressives may soon be called upon to decide in a very practical way what to do when called before such a committee. In my opinion he should, as a matter of principle, insist on asserting his constitutional privilege and refuse to answer either in the affirmative or in the negative. **And it is of the utmost importance to understand that the witness cannot answer some questions and refuse to answer others. Often his refusal to answer one question will imply an answer where other questions have been answered.**

There is no complete answer except in the power of the people to force the witch-hunters to desist from further inroads upon the Bill of Rights. Peace is the issue of the day; if that is assured, the people have it in their collective power to stop in their tracks those who trample on our liberties.

AGENCIES of the U.S. government now sign written contracts with informers, professional or amateur. Their fees and expenses are stipulated. ($25 a day, $9 expenses.) They perform their services in law courts, in chambers of the Immigration Service, before legislative committees. Their works are serialized in slick weeklies and scheduled for the screen.

In the minds of many Americans is the question: Shall the words of such men and women send some to prison and blackmail others into silence? On that, history offers three witnesses.

LIVINGSTON: In 1798 when the Alien and Sedition Acts produced inquisitions and witnesses similar to today's, Edward Livingston wrote:

> The country will swarm with informers, spies, delators and all the odious reptile tribe that breed in the sunshine of despotic power. . . . The hours of the most unsuspected confidence, the intimacies of friendship, or the recesses of domestic retirement, afford no security. The companion whom you trust, the friend in whom you must confide, the domestic who waits in your chamber, are all tempted to betray your imprudent or unguarded follies, to misrepresent your words; to convey them, distorted by calumny, to the secret tribunal where jealousy presides . . . where fear officiates as accuser, and suspicion is the only evidence that is heard. . . . Do not let us be told that we are to excite fervor against a foreign aggression to establish tyranny at home . . . and that we are absurd enough to call ourselves free and enlightened while we advocate principles that would have disgraced the age of Gothic barbarity.

ANDERSON: In 1919 when Atty. Gen. A. Mitchell Palmer again raised an army of informers to help him round up progressives, Judge George Anderson said:

> I cannot adopt the contention that government spies are any more trustworthy, or less disposed to make trouble in order to profit therefrom, than are spies in private industry. Except in time of war when a Nathan Hale may be a spy, spies are always necessarily drawn from the unwholesome and untrustworthy classes. A right-minded man refuses such a job. The evil wrought by the spy system in industry has for decades been incalculable. Until it is eliminated, decent human relations cannot exist between employers and employees or even among employees. It destroys trust and confidence, it kills human kindliness, it propagates hate.

HAND: It is now commonly said that anything goes in an attack on those who allegedly advocate "overthrow by force and violence." But in the '20s Judge Learned Hand said:

> Nor should we forget that what seems fair enough against a squalid huckster of bad liquor may take on a very different face, if used by a government determined to suppress political opposition under the guise of sedition.

Once brave with words

PITY not the poor,
The hungry mass
Who fight for bread
midst human tears.
But pity those,
The liberal class,
Once brave with words,
now cowered by fears.

We poor are strong,
We have to be
To bear what's always
been our lot.
We've fought the wars
Across the sea
Where sons in thousands
lie and rot.

We've laid the tracks
And cleared the fields,
We've dug the mines and
built the schools,
And from our toil
Rich are the yields—
For those who own
production's tools!

We poor are here,
We've always been
And always will, the
preachers say.
But sin can't kill
The dream of when
Our toils shall bring
a different day.

So pity not
The humble poor
Who struggle daily for
their bread,
For they shall live
Forever-more—
To take the world for
which they've bled!

Oh pity those,
The liberal men
Whose words were brave
when times were fair
But now their lips
Are tight and thin—
We cannot hear them
anywhere! —Don West

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Sept. 14, 15, 16, 7 p.m. Special Dance Films: "Ballets on Ice" with Sonja Heinie, Ballet Russe, Ballet Theatre, Sadler Wells Ballet, dance films from India and China.
Sept. 17, 3 p.m. Repeat dance program. Coronet Theatre. CR 5-3811.

Chicago

HEAR JESSICA SMITH, editor Soviet Russia Today, speak on "The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. in the World Today," Fri., Sept. 22, 8 p.m., Curtis Hall, 410 S. Michigan. Tickets 60c & $1 (tax incl.) Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 68 W. Washington St. Phone: AN 3-1878.

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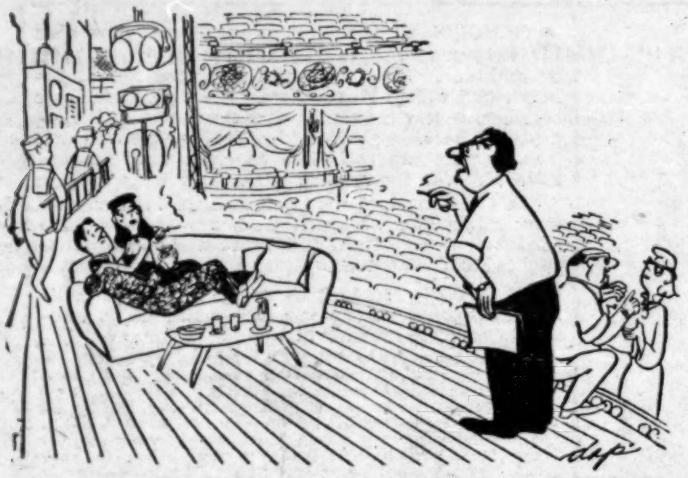

"At this point you get a nervous breakdown when you realize this ingenue you have discovered and nurtured is harboring an abridged version of 'Das Kapital' in the ruby-studded evening bag you gave her as a memento of your affection."

'The Hammer'

A play by Howard Fast, **The Hammer**, dealing with the embittered homecoming of a wounded Jewish war veteran, will open in New York as the second off-Broadway production of New Playwrights, Inc., a group devoted to socially-conscious drama. First New Playwrights production, **Longitude 49**, ran 15 weeks.

The Hammer will open Friday night, Sept. 8, with a cast including Earl Jones, Linda Borden, Laird Brooks.

New Playwrights productions are staged at the Czech Workers Hall theater, 347 E. 72 St. For reservations, theater parties, etc., write to that address or telephone RHinelander 4-9273.

Pots and Pocketbooks

Sugar, sugar, who's got the sugar?

By Charlotte Parks

CURRENT blasts against hoarding housewives are a convenient way to take the heat off where it really belongs —the food speculators buying to sell again at big profits. Result: food going to waste while thousands of draftees fail to pass their physicals because they've been skimped on meat, milk and eggs the last two or three years, when the U.S. diet has been nothing to brag about for growing boys in the "hollow leg" stage.

Voters are eaters. Secy. Brannan says the American diet is not so good—prices are up 15% since June 20. How about the Agricultural Dept., Capitol Hill and Mr. Truman using some of that good old-fashioned American know-how on the food situation? For example:

SUGAR: This year's crop of peaches, plums, apricots and pears is a humdinger — but prices on canned fruits and jams are high and going higher by the minutes. Housewives want to do home canning — but last week they were passing by redcurrants at 10c a quart.

Why? No sugar. Yet Truman himself says there is plenty of sugar for the whole world. During World War I when there was a real sugar scarcity, housewives were allowed extra amounts for canning.

Send a postcard to Secy. Brannan, Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.; drop another to Truman at the same time: WE WANT SUGAR. WE WANT JAM. WE WANT CANNED PEACHES NEXT WINTER. WE WANT SUGAR.

COFFEE, POTATOES, SOYBEANS: These make millions for the food speculators. In the Middle Ages, the Church said food speculators would go to hell and the State saw they went to jail. Brannan said over Station WOR Reporter's Roundup that all his Dept. could tell the speculators was that it wasn't really patriotic or nice to act so. What we've been paying extra per pound of coffee would outfit every child in the U.S. for the first day of school—and some left over for chocolate cones.

The Germans called soybeans the "magic weapon," added them to sausage, meats, bread, etc., for additional protein—most expensive and necessary item in our diet. Over in China, Chiang Kai-shek's relations speculated to the tune of millions of dollars in soybeans for the U.S. market.

Colliers for Sept. 2 reports:

> **The Great Potato Scandal — While our government buys and dumps millions of bushels, Canada floods U. S. market, adding $18,000,000 to our tax bill this year. . . . The government bought and dumped only Grade A potatoes, consumers got what was left; 20% of the people of Aroostook County, Me., are dependent on unemployment relief or charity.**

BUTTER: The government has 200,000,000 pounds of it in storage. The soldiers are eating margarine. What are you eating?

THAT POSTCARD: How much of this year's fruit crop will go to waste, and how many town folk will go without next winter for lack of sugar to can it?

There's still time to can if we can get speedy action; the season lasts through September. Remember that postcard:

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